

THE NINE TREASURES OF A CAKRAVARTIN

There are, in Jaina narrative literature, a number of references to the fourteen jewels (*ratna*-s) and nine treasures (*nidhi*-s) which a cakravartin possesses. We read, for example, in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* that Bharaha, the first cakravartin, became master of the fourteen *ratna*-s and nine *nidhi*-s¹, and in the *Uttarajjhayaṇa-ṭīkā* we are told that the fourteen *ratna*-s, beginning with the *cakra*, and the nine *nidhi*-s arose and did Saṇḍakumāra honour². The precise relationship between the *ratna*-s and the *nidhi*-s is not entirely clear. In Jacobi's list³ the *nidhi*-s are one of the seven inanimate *ratna*-s, while in the list of the nine *nidhi*-s found in the *Thāṇaṅga-sutta*⁴ it is stated that the *sarva-ratna nidhi* produces the fourteen *ratna*-s (of which seven are single-sensed and inanimate, and seven are five-sensed and animate)⁵.

The story of Bharaha in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* goes on to say that after becoming lord of the nine *nidhi*-s he makes use of one of them (*Māṇava*) to teach various military accomplishments⁶. In the Jaina texts on Universal History we find more references to the *nidhi*-s and the powers and attributes which they bestow. In the *Cauppannamahāpurisacariya*, the nine *nidhi*-s are referred to by name in the story of Bharaha⁷, and

1. *coddasa-rayana-nava-nihi-patisāmi jāto* (*Vasudevahiṇḍi* 202, 8-9).

2. *Saṇḍakumāro vi... rajjam aṇupālei. uppannāni ya cakka-pamuhāni coddasa vi rayanāni nava nihito ya, kayā ya tesin pūyā* (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī* 26, 7-9).

3. J. HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. III, s.v. Chakravartin. According to J. C. JAIN, *The Vasudevahiṇḍi*, 36, n. 73, this list is taken from *Āvaśyaka-cūṛṇi* I, 207.

4. *Thāṇaṅga-sutta* 9,882 (= *Suttāgame* vol. I, 296-297). See n. 11 below.

5. The Pāli tradition speaks only of seven jewels, and there a cakravartin is described as *satta-ratana-sampanna*. See n. 37 below.

6. *tato tassa Māṇavo nāma nihī, teṇaṇi vūha-rayanāo paharaṇāvaraṇa-vihāṇāni ya uvadiṭṭhāni* (*VH* 202, 9-10).

7. *Cauppannamahāpurisacariyaṇ* (ed. A. M. Bhojak) 43, 34-44, 1.

also in the Bambhadatta story, where the fields of activity of all nine are given⁸. We find the same details given in the story of Bharata in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*⁹. The nine are named, and are said to be attended by one thousand yakṣas each. They are mounted on eight wheels, and are eight yojanas high, nine yojanas broad, and twelve yojanas long. Their faces are concealed by doors of cat's-eye, smooth, golden, filled with jewels, marked with the cakṛa, sun, and moon. Their guardians are *Nāga-kumāra* gods with the same names as the *nidhi*-s. The gods have life-spans of a *palyopama*, and inhabit the *nidhi*-s. The *nidhi*-s are inexhaustible, and reside, with their guardians, in Māgadha-tīrtha at the mouth of the Ganges. The *nidhi*-s are also mentioned in connection with the other cakravartins, although the references are more cursory¹⁰.

The same text gives their fields of activity in detail. In the *nidhi* called Naiṣarpa is the origin of the building of camps, cities, villages, mines, towns approached by both sea and land, and of isolated towns. In Pāṇḍuka is the origin of bulk, weight and height, and of all numbers, and of grain and seeds. In Piṅgala is the origin of the whole business of ornaments of men, women, elephants and horses. In Sarvaratna is the origin of the cakravartin's fourteen jewels, the seven of one sense and the seven of five senses. In Mahāpadma is the origin of clothes of all patterns, both white and coloured. In Kāla is the origin of the knowledge of the past, present and future for three years, labour such as agriculture, and also the arts. In Mahākāla is the origin of coral, slabs of silver and gold, pearls, and iron, and of mines of iron, etc. In Māṇava is the origin of abundance of soldiers, weapons, and armour, and also of the whole science of fighting and of the administration of justice. In Saṅkha is the origin of four-fold poetry, concerts, and dramatic art, and of all musical instruments. The details given in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* are clearly based upon the description of the *nidhi*-s given in the canonical *Thāṇaṅga-sutta*, although there are some variations, e.g. in the size of the *nidhi*-s, which are stated in the latter text to be nine yojanas in each direction, although verses quoted there give the same dimensions as the former¹¹.

8. *eesiṃ puṇa ime nioyā: nesappa-sayāsāo gāmāgara-ṇagara-doṇamuha-maḍaṃba-paṭṭaṇa-khaṇḍhārāṇaṃ niveso. taha paṇḍuyāo māṇummaṇapamāṇa-dhaṇṇa-biyāṇaṃ samuppatti. piṅgalāhiṇṇo puṇa jā kāi purisāṇaṃ mahilāṇaṃ ca ra ha-turaya-karivar-āḍiṇaṃ āharaṇa-vihī. sā samuppajjai. savvarayaṇāo puṇa egiṇḍiya-paṇciṇḍiyāṇi coddasa mahārayaṇāni. mahāpaumāo puṇa ruiṇavaṇṇasaṃpaṇṇapavaraṇṇasuyauppatti. kāla-mahāṇiḥho kāloie vivihasiṇṇapavāṇṇasavise. mahākālāo maṇi-mottiya-ruppa-suvāṇṇāḍiṇaṃ saṃbhavo. māṇāvāo jōhāvaraṇa-paharaṇa-damḍaṇṇi ya saṃjāyāi tti. saṃkha-mahāṇiḥho puṇa karaṇaṃgahārovaṇṇaṭṭavihi cauvvihakavvupatti ya (ibid., 210, 8-13).*

9. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (tr. by HELEN M. JOHNSON) vol. I, 252-253.

10. *Ibid.*, I, 73, 262; II, 156; III, 165, 188; IV, 5, 363, 366; V, 422-423; VI, 3, 16.

11. *egamege ṇaṃ mahāṇiḥhi ṇava-ṇava joyaṇāṇi vikkhaṃbheṇaṃ paṇṇatte. egamegassa ṇaṃ raṇṇo cāuraṇṇatācakkavattissa ṇava mahāṇiḥhiyo paṇṇattā, taṃ jahā: (1) nesappe paṇḍuyae piṅgalae savvarayaṇa mahāpaume kāle ya mahākāle māṇa-*

The term *nidhi* and the number nine are reminiscent of the nine treasures of Kubera. Although there are references to some of his treasures in the *Mahābhārata*, the full list of nine is found only in lexical texts¹², and may therefore be relatively late. As Vogel pointed out¹³, the brahmanical tradition probably agreed with the Jaina tradition in giving the same names to both the treasures and their guardians, for while the *Mahābhārata*¹⁴ and the *Amarakośa*¹⁵ both speak of Padma and Śaṅkha as being the chief treasures of Kubera, the former text seems to be speaking of the two as personified when they take all the *nidhi*-s to do homage to their lord.

Eight of the nine treasures of Kubera are given in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*¹⁶ as the names of *nidhi*-s associated with the magical art called Padminī. The same text lists the influences which these *nidhi*-s exercise

vaga mahānīhi saṅkhe (2) ṇesappaṇṇi nivesā gāmāgara-nagara-paṭṭaṇṇaṇaṇi ca doṇamuha-maṇḍabāṇaṇi khaṇḍhārāṇaṇi gihāṇaṇi ca (3) gaṇiyassa ya biyāṇaṇi māṇ-umūṇassa ya jaṇi paṇāṇaṇi ca dhaṇassa ya biyāṇaṇi uppatti paṇḍue bhāṇiyā (4) savvā ābharaṇavihi purisaṇaṇi jā ya hoi mahilāṇaṇi āsāṇa ya hatthiṇa ya piṅgala-ṇiṇiṇi sā bhāṇiyā (5) rayaṇāṇi savvarayaṇe coddasa pavarāṇi cakkavaṭṭissa uppajjaṇi egiṇḍiyāṇi paṇciṇḍiyāṇi ca (6) vatthāṇa ya uppatti nippatti c'eva savvabhattiṇaṇi raṇḍāṇa ya dhoyāṇa ya savvā eṣā mahāpaume (7) kāle kālaṇṇaṇaṇi bhavva purāṇaṇi ca tisu vāsesu sippasattaṇi kammāṇi ya tiṇṇi payāe hiyakarāṇi (8) lohassa ya uppatti hoi mahākāle āgarāṇaṇi ca ruppassa suvaṇṇassa ya maṇi-motti-sila-ppavālāṇaṇi (9) jodhāṇa ya uppatti āvaraṇāṇaṇi ca paharaṇāṇaṇi ca savvā ya juddhaṇi māṇavae daṇḍaṇi ya (10) ṇaṭṭavihi ṇāḍagavihi kavvassa cauvvihaṇsa uppatti saṅkhe mahānīhiṇiṇi tuḍiyaṇḍāṇaṇi ca savvesiṇi (11) cakkatṭhapaiṭṭhāṇā aṭṭhusseḥā ya ṇava ya vikkhaṇbhe bārasadithā maṇiṇṇasamaṇṭhiyā janhavī muhe (12) veruliyamaṇikavāḍā kaṇagamayā viviharaṇaṇapaḍipupṇā sasiṇṇacakkalakkhaṇa aṇusamajugabhūvayaṇā ya (13) paliovamaṭṭhiyā nīhisarīṇāṇā ya tesu khalu devā jesiṇi te āvāsā akkijjā āhivaccā vā (14) ee te ṇavaṇiḥao pabhūyadhaṇarayaṇasaṇ-cayasamiddhā je vasaṇi uvagacchaṇi savvesiṇi cakkavaṭṭiṇaṇi (*Thāṇaṇigāsutta* 9, 882 = *Suttāgame* vol. I, 296-297). Dr. Adelheid Mette has drawn my attention to her monograph (*Indische Kultur-stiftungsberichte und ihr Verhältnis zur Zeitaltersage*, Mainz, 1973) in which she points out (p. 21) that these verses also occur in the *Jaṇbuddiva-ṇaṇṇattī* (= *Suttāgame* vol. II, 583), in a context so appropriate that it is probably their original position, from which they were quoted in *Thāṇ*. The *Thāṇ*-reference probably consisted at one time of nothing more than the initial prose statement and the list of the nine names. The existence of the same list in the *Jaṇbuddiva-ṇaṇṇattī* probably led to the transfer of the verses which follow it to *Thāṇ*., despite the subsequent contradiction in the measurements.

12. Padma Mahāpadma Śaṅkha Makara Kacchapa Mukunda Kunda Nila and Kharva according to the commentary on *Amarakośa* I, 1, 71. The same names, with Nanda replacing Kunda and with Carcā replacing Kharva in some editions, are found in *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 90, 193. The use, found in inscriptions, of the word *nidhi* in the sense of the numeral «9» shows that the number of the *nidhi*-s was sufficiently standardised to be used in that way, even if the names were not settled (see G. BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 81).

13. J. PH. VOGEL, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, London, 1926, p. 211, n. 3.

14. *nidhīṇaṇi pravaraṇi mukhyaṇi Śaṅkha-Padmaṇi dhaneśvaram/sarvāṇi nidhīṇi pragrahyatāv upāsāte maheśvaram* (*Mahābhārata*, Sabhāp. X, 21).

15. *bhedāḥ Padma-Śaṅkhādāyo nidheḥ* (*Amarakośa* I, 1, 71).

16. With Kharva/Carcā excluded and following the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* in preferring Nanda to Kunda (*Mārka. Pur.* 68, 5).

over men as follows¹⁷: Padma is supported by goodness. A man dominated by Padma may become the perfection of politeness. He amasses immense quantities of gold, silver, copper and other metals, and buys and sells them. He also makes sacrifices, and bestows the sacred fee. He causes a palace to be built and temples for the gods. Mahāpadma is also supported by goodness. A man dominated by Mahāpadma amasses rubies and other gems, and buys and sells them. He gives to those who are disposed towards religious devotion, and has dwellings constructed for them. He himself becomes so disposed, and so do his descendants. Makara is composed of darkness. A man dominated by Makara becomes ignorant. He collects together various sorts of weapons and shields, and becomes friendly with kings, and is generous to heroic kings. He finds pleasure only in buying and selling weapons. Kacchapa is composed of darkness, and a man dominated by Kacchapa is ignorant. He performs all the rules of life, but merely as acts. He makes no gifts, nor does he enjoy what he has.

Mukunda is composed of the quality of passion, and a man dominated by Mukunda becomes passionate. He collects together various sorts of musical instrument, and is generous towards singers, dancers and musicians. Nanda is composed of passion and darkness, and a man dominated by Nanda becomes firm. He collects together minerals and precious stones, and grain and other articles, and buys and sells them. Nīla¹⁸ is composed of goodness and passion, and a man dominated by Nīla becomes good and passionate. He collects together cloth, grain, fruit, pearls, timber, etc. He constructs ponds, tanks and embankments, and plants trees. Śaṅkha is composed of passion and darkness, and a man dominated by Śaṅkha has the same qualities. When alone he enjoys food and clothing which he himself has made. His family have poor food and clothing. He is mean and ungenerous, and thinks only of himself.

Although at first sight there seems to be a great deal of similarity between this list and that already quoted from Jaina sources, it is surprising to find at closer examination that of the names of Padminī's eight *nidhi*-s only two coincide with the Jaina list, and even the attributes of those two do not agree. There is no mention of size, or of dwelling place.

Buddhism also has knowledge of *nidhi*-s, but there they number only four. It is noteworthy that the various traditions in Buddhism do not agree among themselves about the *nidhi*-s. There is a list of four in the *Divyāvadāna*¹⁹ which has Śaṅkha in common with both the Jaina and the brahmanical traditions, and has Pāṇduka and Piṅgala in com-

17. See the translation by F. EDEN PARGITER, *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 415-18.

18. The text seems to read Līla here, although it reads Nīla in 68, 5.

19. *atha catvāro mahārājās caturmahānidhisthāḥ/Piṅgalaś ca Kalingeṣu Mithilāyām ca Pāṇdukaḥ/Elāpatraś* (MSS Ela-) *ca Gāndhāre Śaṅkho Vārāṇasīpure* (*Divyāvadāna* 61, 1-4).

mon with the Jaina list, but has Elāpatra as an exclusively Buddhist feature. The list in the *Mahāvastu*²⁰ has Elapatra, Saṅkha and Piṅgala in common with the *Divyāvadāna*, but replaces Pāṇḍuka by Paduma, who appears in the brahmanical list, but not in the Jaina list. In the *Divyāvadāna* they are called *mahārāja*-s, but in the *Mahāvastu* they are called *mahānāga*-s. As in the case of the Jaina tradition, it can be deduced that the Buddhists too gave the same names to the *nidhi*-s and to the guardians, for the *Mahāvastu* names Elapatra as one of the *nāga-rāja*-s²¹, having just spoken of one of the treasures by the same name.

In Pāli the list of *nidhi*-s is found in commentaries only²², and other examples can be given of the close relationship which can sometimes be found between the canonical tradition of one sect and the commentarial tradition of another. The Pāli list has Saṅkha and Ela in common with the other Buddhist traditions, but Uppala and Puṇḍarīka are not found in any other lists. There is no reference in Pāli to *nāga*-s or *rāja*-s guarding the *nidhi*-s, but there is mention in Pāli of a *nāgarāja* called Erakapatta whose verses are the same as those attributed to Elapatra in the *Mahāvastu*²³, which suggests that originally Ela and Eraka(patta) were the same.

The *Divyāvadāna* states that the *nidhi*-s and their guardian *mahārāja*-s live in Kaliṅga, Mithilā, Gandhāra, and Benares²⁴. The *Mahāvastu* agrees with the *Divyāvadāna* in placing Piṅgala in Kaliṅga and Saṅkha in Benares, and puts the replacement Paduma in Mithilā, and Elapatra in Takṣaśilā²⁵. The Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* places Elapatra in Gandhāra, Campaka in Mithilā, Piṅgala in Surāṣṭra, and Saṅkha in Benares^{26a}. Other Buddhist traditions sometimes vary the place names^{26b}. The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* states that the four *nidhi*-s are filled with jewels, and like the Jaina *nidhi*-s are inexhaustible²⁷. The Chinese version of the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* states that the four *nidhi*-s are filled with gold, silver, *maṇi*, and *vaiḍūrya*^{28a}. The Khotanese tradition gives their size, and states that they contain seven jewels^{28b}.

20. *catvāro mahānidhiyo Saṅkho Vārāṇasyāṃ Padumo Kaliṅgeṣu Piṅgalo Takṣaśilāyāṃ Elapatro* (*Mahāvastu* III, 383, 18-19).

21. *tatra ca Elapatreṇa nāgarājñā praśnā sthāpitā* (*Mahāvastu* III, 384, 1).

22. *Saṅkho Elo Uppalo Puṇḍarīko ti cattāro nidhayo upagatā* (Sv 284, 8-9 = Ps III, 420, 13-14). See also notes 34 and 35 below. The names Phala and Utpala given by R. SPENCE HARDY, *A manual of Buddhism*, p. 149, n. ✱, in place of Ela and Uppala, would seem to be errors, the former resulting from the misreading of Sinhalese *e*- as *pha*.

23. Compare Dh-p-a III, 231 foll. with Mv III, 384 foll.

24. See n. 19 above.

25. See n. 20 above.

26a. See R. E. EMMERICK, *The Book of Zambasta*, London, 1968, p. 313.

26b. See ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE, *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti*, London, 1976, p. 167.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 167 (*akṣayamahānidhāna sarvaratnaparipūrṇa*).

28a. *Ibid.*, p. 167, n. 34.

28b. « Each treasure will extend ten ggamphas. They will all be full of the seven jewels for the welfare of the meritorious » (EMMERICK, *op. cit.*, p. 315).

The *Divyāvadāna* states that the four *mahārāja*-s who guard the *nidhi*-s will come to do homage to the cakravartin Śaṅkha²⁹ at the time of the birth of Maitreya, and other Buddhist authorities also mention their appearance at the time of Maitreya's advent. Some traditions, however, state that the *nidhi*-s are already in existence and are made use of by the local inhabitants every seven years on the seventh day of the seventh month³⁰. The *Mahāvastu* mentions a monthly festival in honour of Śaṅkha³¹, but says nothing about when the *nidhi*-s appear, or for whom.

In the Pāli tradition we find the *nidhi*-s referred to as *nidhi-kumbhi*-s³², which appear on the same day that a Bodhisatta or Tathāgata is born³³, and they are accordingly included among the list of the seven co-natals (*saha-jāta*-s)³⁴. In that list they are occasionally called simply *nidhi*-s³⁵. Strangely enough, however, they are not mentioned in particular connection with Metteyya. There is in the *Cakkavattisihanāda-suttanta* a passage referring to the coming of Metteyya³⁶, which corresponds closely to the passage just mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna*, but although the cakkavattin Śaṅkha is said to possess the seven *ratana*-s, as is also stated in other Pāli texts³⁷, there is no reference to the four *nidhi*-s doing homage to him, nor to their appearing at the time of the birth of Metteyya. Nor is there any mention of *nidhi*-s in other texts which refer to the coming of Metteyya, e.g. the *Anāgatavaṃsa* and the *Dasabodhisattupattikathā*. The latter text deals with the future appearance of ten Bodhisattas, but the only reference to *nidhi*-s in that text is the statement that by the power of the future Buddha Dhammassāmi one *nidhi* will appear, and the people will live happily depending upon it³⁸.

29. *enaṃ ca yūpaṃ ādāya Śaṅkhasya rājña upanāmayiṣyanti* (Divy 61, 5).

30. LAMOTTE, *op. cit.*, p. 167, n. 34.

31. *Vārāṇasyāṃ Śaṅkhasya māsiko samājo vartati* (Mvu III, 383, 19-20).

32. Miss HORNER, *The clarifier of the sweet meaning*, London, 1978, p. xlvii, states that the contents of these *nidhi-kumbhi*-s are « somewhat baffling ». She assumes that the names refer to the contents, but this would seem not to be so.

33. *Tathāgatassa pana jātadivase yeva... cattāro nidhayo upagatā* (Sv 284, 7-9 = Ps III, 420, 12-14). The apocryphal *Sudhanukumāra-jātaka* adds the detail that the *nidhi-kumbhi*-s were covered with dust: *atha mahāsattassānubhāvena rājapāsādassa catūsu passesu cattāro nidhi-kumbhiyo jātakabhūmiyaṃ paṃsu-paṭicchannā aṭṭhaṃsu* (*Paññāsa-jātaka*, ed. P. S. Jaini, London, 1981, vol. I, 130, 4-6).

34. *Rāhulamātā devī Channo amacco Kāludāyī amacco Ānando rājakumāro Kanthako assarājā Mahābodhi rukko cattāro nidhi-kumbhiyo ca jātā... ime satta saha-jātā nāma*, Ja I, 54, 6-9 ≠ Bv-a 276, 9-13 ≠ Ap-a 58, 27-31 ≠ Mp I, 301, 13-15. In the list at Bv-a 131, 16, we find *nidhi-kumbhā*; at Bv-a 298, 8, *-kumbho*; and at Sv 425, 9, *-kumbhi*.

35. Ap-a 358, 26; 532, 1; Thag-a II, 221, 13.

36. D III, 75 foll.

37. *Samkhō nāma rājā uppajjissati cakkavatti... satta-ratana-samannāgato. tass' imāni satta ratanāni bhavissanti, seyyathidaṃ cakka-ratanam hatthi-ratanam assa-ratanam maṇi-ratanam itthi-ratanam gahapati-ratanam pariṇāyika-ratanam eva sat-tanam* (D III, 75, 20-26). Cf. *Anāgata-vaṃsa* (ed. Minayeff, in JPTS, 1886) 10 and *Dasabodhisattupattikathā* (ed. Saddhatissa, London, 1975) § 6.

In the Pāli tradition the *nidhi*-s are spoken of as being of great size. They are said to be 1/4, 1/2, 3/4 and one yojana in size³⁹, but there seems to be some confusion about what the measurements refer to. One tradition states that these figures refer to the space which the pots occupy⁴⁰, while another states that they refer to the depth of the pots⁴¹. Another tradition states that for Bodhisattas the size of the rim was the same for all the pots, while below (at the base?) they had the same circumference as the earth⁴².

There seems to be one reference in Pāli literature to the appearance of the *nidhi*-s for anyone other than a Bodhisatta, and that concerns Jotiya (or Jotika) for whom Sakka, king of the gods, provided a palace with a *nidhi-kumbhi* at each corner at the time of his marriage. It is specifically stated that, although the depth of his pots was the same as for a Bodhisatta, the size of each rim was not known⁴³. Jotiya and his *iddhi* power are mentioned in the Pāli canon⁴⁴, but there is no reference to his *nidhi-kumbhi*-s there, which again emphasizes the fact that mention of the *nidhi*-s occurs only in the commentarial tradition in Pāli⁴⁵.

We see, therefore, that the Jainas, Hindus, and Buddhists all have traditions about *nidhi*-s. The fact that the Buddhist tradition in Pāli texts differs in a number of respects from that preserved in Buddhist Sanskrit works probably indicates that the idea of *nidhi*-s was common

38. *Buddhānubhāvena eko nidhi uppajjissati. sabbe janā taṃ nissāya sukhena attānaṃ jīvāpessanti* (*Dasabodhisattuppattikathā* § 32). In some of the traditions the *nidhi*-s are referred to as *nidhāna*-s, and it is therefore possible that the *mahā-nidhānāni* spoken of at Bv-a 215, 10, as appearing on the day of Mahāpurisa's birth were *nidhi*-s. The reference to them, however, is strange: *sucirakālanihitāni kulaparamparāgatāni mahānidhānāni dhanasāmikā paṭilabhiṃsu* = « The owners of wealth acquired great stores which, laid aside for a long time, come to a succession of families » (I. B. HORNER, *The clarifier of the sweet meaning*, p. 310). G. P. Malalasekera (Mhv-ṭ 61, n. ✱) quotes Bv-a as saying that on the day of his birth treasures that had long lain buried came to the surface of the earth. Unless he was following a different version of the text, it would seem that this note is somewhat misleading. The Mahāpurisa was presumably thinking of himself as the *nidhāna*, cf. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* p. 186, where the Buddhas are spoken of as inexhaustible treasures for the poor (*daridrāṇaṃ ca satvānāṃ nidhānā bhonti akṣayāḥ*).

39. *ekā gāvutappamāṇā ekā addhayaṃjanappamāṇā ekā tigāvutappamāṇā ekā yojanappamāṇā*, Ja I, 54, 8-9 ≠ Bv-a 276, 11-13 ≠ Ap-a 58, 29-30 ≠ Sv 284, 9-10 = Ps III, 420, 14-15 ≠ Dh-p-a IV, 208, 10-12 ≠ Paṭi-a 677, 17.

40. *tesu pi gahita-gahitaṃ thānaṃ pūrati yeva*, Ps III, 420, 15-16 / Sv 284, 11-12.

41. *ekā nidhi-kumbhī... gambhīrato paṭhavi-pariyantā eva ahoṣi*, Ap-a 58, 29-31.

42. *Bodhisattassa nibbatta-nidhi-kumbhīnaṃ pana ekaṃ mukhappamāṇaṃ ahoṣi, heṭṭhā paṭhavi-pariyantā va ahesuṃ*, Dh-p-a IV, 208, 12-14.

43. *Jotiyyassa nibbatta-nidhikumbhīnaṃ mukhaparimāṇaṃ na kathitaṃ, sabbā mukhacchinnatālaṃ paṭhaṃ viya paripuṇṇā va uṭṭhahimṃsu*, Dh-p-a IV, 208, 13-15. The story of Jotiya is also told at Paṭi-a 677, 6-22, but no comparison is made with a Bodhisatta's *nidhi-kumbhi*-s there.

44. *Jotikassa gahapatissa puñṇavato iddhi*, Paṭi II, 213, 15-16.

45. For other examples of the close relationship between the canonical tradition of one sect and the commentarial tradition of another, see K. R. NORMAN, *The dialects in which the Buddha preached*, in H. BECHERT (ed.), *The language of the earliest Buddhist tradition* (Göttingen, 1980), pp. 72-3.

to both the Northern and Southern schools before the Theravādins became cut off from India, but thereafter began to develop in different directions. The similarity in the number of *nidhi*-s in the Jaina and Hindu traditions suggests that there was some connection between the two, but as we have seen the differences between the two are greater than the similarities. The fact that the two versions to mention the great size of the *nidhi*-s are the Jaina and the Buddhist traditions, which may be supposed to have been in geographical contact in the Magadha region in the early stage of their development⁴⁶, may be an indication that there was a connection between them, but again the differences outweigh the similarities. The sizes are quite different, the number of the *nidhi*-s is not the same, and the Theravādin tradition speaks of *nidhi-kumbhi*-s, which is an idea not found in the Jaina tradition. The fact that, with a very few exceptions, the three traditions connect the *nidhi*-s with three different classes of persons — cakravartins, men in general, and Tathāgatas or Bodhisattas — also suggests that there was no very direct contact between all the traditions.

Jones suggested that the names of the *nidhi*-s probably came into existence before the attributes were fixed⁴⁷. An examination of all the names of the *nidhi*-s⁴⁸ reveals that the only one which is common to all the lists is Saṃkha but such an examination reveals the fact that many of the names, even when they are not specifically stated in the texts to be *nāga*-s, are in fact known to us from other sources as such, and there cannot be any doubt that the origin of the *nidhi*-s is to be sought in a *nāga* cult, as Vogel's investigations made clear⁴⁹. The Jains actually call the guardians of the *nidhi*-s *Nāgakumāradeva*-s, which must be a reflection of the fact that they were originally *nāga*-s, and in fact more than half of them appear in lists of *nāga*-s elsewhere. Of the Padmini list in the brahmanical tradition, only Mukunda is not known as a *nāga*, to which can be added Kharva/Carcā in the list of Kubera's attendants, and it is possible that a closer look might find these names in lists of *nāga*-s somewhere. The Northern Buddhist tradition in the *Mahāvastu* calls the guardians of the *nidhi*-s *nāgarāja*-s, and if in the Pāli tradition Ela is indeed the same as Erakapatta, who is the same as the Northern Elāpatra, then we can, with Lüders⁵⁰, see in him the ancient *nāga* Airāvata. Vogel comments on the fact that *nāga*-s are often called by plant names⁵¹, and the two Pāli innovations in the list of *nidhi* names, i.e. Uppala and Puṇḍarīka, are indeed known from elsewhere as *nāga*-s, as is the Khotanese innovation Campaka.

46. According to the Pāli tradition, as reported by Buddhaghosa (Ps I, 1, 23), the commentaries as well as the canonical texts were brought to Ceylon by Mahinda. There seems to be no reason to doubt that some, at least, of the commentarial material was brought from North India.

47. J. J. JONES, *The Mahāvastu*, vol. III, London, 1956, p. 381, n. 1.

48. See Appendix.

49. J. PH. VOGEL, *Indian Serpent-Lore*, London, 1926, pp. 211 foll.

50. HEINRICH LÜDERS, *Bhārhut und die buddhistische Literatur*, in AKM, XXVI, 3, Leipzig, 1941, pp. 165 foll.

Nāga-s were traditionally regarded as being guardians of buried treasure, and we can see that in the traditions we have been examining the treasures have been given the names of the *nāga*-s guarding them. There is evidence that the treasures which *nāga*-s guarded were not always jewels or material wealth. In the *Kharaputta-jātaka*⁵² King Senaka obtained jewels from a *nāgarāja* and also charms (*mantra*-s) which enabled him to see his *nāga* companion and to understand the speech of animals. It is not difficult to see how this type of treasure could develop into those which we have seen in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa-caritra* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, for it would be very appropriate for *nāga*-s to be connected with a magical type of knowledge such as Padminī.

The varying place names in the Northern Buddhist tradition probably represent a state of affairs where *nāga* cults were connected with different places, and the authors and redactors of texts could vary the names to suit local conditions. With the exception of Benares and Kalinga, the other places named in Buddhist texts are in the West and North-West, and it is understandable that the Chinese and Khotanese sources, which are dependent upon Sanskrit and Prakrit texts from the North-West, would reflect this fact, and sometimes place Piṅgala in Surāṣṭra, not in Kalinga⁵³. If we assume that the number four, being smaller, represents an earlier stage of the cult, then we can postulate that the Jaina tradition increased the number to nine, and also changed the attributes of the treasures from jewels under the influence of the same forces as produced the Padminī list in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. The Jains also changed the dwelling places of the *nidhi*-s to Māgadhatīrtha at the mouth of the Ganges, doubtlessly because the strength of Jainism was at that time in the East rather than the West and North-West.

Besides the changes in dwelling place and attributes of the *nidhi*-s, it is also possible to see a tendency towards the removal of specific *nāga* features in connection with the *nidhi*-s. As we have seen, the Jains decided that the guardians were not *nāga*-s, but *Nāgakumāradeva*-s. In the Buddhist tradition, the *Mahāvastu* mentions *nāgarāja*-s, but in the *Divyāvadāna* they have become *mahārāja*-s. The Pāli tradition makes no comment about the nature of the guardians. A comparable development can be seen elsewhere in the Buddhist tradition. In the *Mahāvastu* it is stated that the Buddha uttered a benedictory hymn over the two merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika, after they had visited him. In that hymn he invokes the blessing of Virūpākṣa, the *nāgādhipa*⁵⁴. The same *nāga* is included in the account of the same happening in the *Lalitavistara*, where he is described as *sarvanāgādhipati*⁵⁵. There is, however, no men-

51. VOGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

52. Ja III, 275-81.

53. See nn. 26a and 26b above.

54. Mvu III, 308, 14.

55. *Lalitavistara*, ed. LEFMANN, p. 389.

tion of the *nāga* king in the account as found in the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*⁵⁶ nor in the Pāli version⁵⁷. The separation of Ela from Erakapatta in the Pāli tradition must also represent an attempt to remove the *nāga* element.

Other signs of change and development can be seen. We have noted that the *Divyāvadāna* speaks of the *nidhi*-s, or their *mahārāja*-s, doing homage to the cakravartin Saṅkha, although elsewhere in Buddhism (with the exception of Jotiya) they are connected with Bodhisattas. The omission of this detail in the version of the story in the *Cakkavattisīhanāda-sutta* must also represent a later and more developed form of the story, with a deliberate suppression of any mention of the *nidhi*-s. We have seen that in the *Anāgatavaṃsa* and the *Dasabodhisattupattikathā*, both medieval Pāli texts, any idea of a link between *nidhi*-s and the appearance of Bodhisattas has been lost.

If the origin of *nidhi*-s is to be sought in folk religion and beliefs, then we can see that although such beliefs were assimilated to some extent into the Jaina, brahmanical and Buddhist traditions, nevertheless there was a conscious attempt to get rid of them. Although, to judge from the references in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*, one might assume that the concept of *nidhi*-s was still prevalent when that text was written in the twelfth century, it must be remembered that the passage already quoted above is based almost verbatim upon the much earlier canonical *Thāṇaṅga-sutta* and *Jambuddhiva-panṇatti* and cannot be taken as an indication of contemporary belief. A better indication is perhaps to be obtained from the confusion about *nidhi*-s which is shown in other texts. For example, the name *Nāgakumāradeva*, used as we have seen of the guardians of the *nidhi*-s in the Jaina tradition, is quoted in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*⁵⁸ (by the same Hemacandra who wrote the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*) as a class of deities among the *Bhavanādhiśa*-s who guard the treasures of Kubera. This seems to indicate a confusion of Jaina and brahmanical ideas, which possibly is more indicative of popular thinking at the time. It is also very interesting to note a very late reference to the nine *nidhi*-s of Kubera in Pāli in a portion of the *Mahāvāṃsa*⁵⁹ which dates from a time when Sanskrit influence was strong in Ceylon.

We seem justified in concluding that when the authors of Jaina medieval narrative literature included in their works references to the nine treasures of a cakravartin, they were merely repeating one of a stock list of attributes, together with his fourteen jewels. The fact that this particular term had its origin in a *nāga* cult had long since been forgotten.

56. RIA KLOPPENBORG, *The sūtra on the foundation of the Buddhist Order*, Leiden, 1973, pp. 7-10.

57. Vin I, 4.

58. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 90, 193.

59. *saṃbhatā... Kuberena saṅkhādi va nidhī nava*, Mhv LXXXVII, 31.

